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ABSTRACT

Based on interviews with 19 Chilean editors, government officials, heads of professional associations, and journalism education directors, this paper deals with the role of the press in Chile and with its future under the current military government. Following a review of the events concerning press control and censorship that followed the overthrow and murder of President Salvador Allende in 1973, the paper considers the relationship of the military government with each of the newspapers and magazines currently published in Chile and also examines the role of that country's radio and television stations. The paper concludes with a discussion of the future of the Chilean press under the new constitution. (FL)

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THE CHILEAN PRESS SINCE ALLENDE

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THE CHILEAN PRESS SINCE ALLENDE

Beginning at 8 a.m. on September 11, 1973, the people of Santiago de Chile heard broadcast by radio the five-point declaration of the chiefs of the four branches of the armed forces intent upon overthrowing the government of Salvador Allende, the first freely elected Marxist head of state in the western hemisphere. The fourth point was explicit: "The press, radio stations and television channels supporting the Unidad Popular [Allende's political coalition] must suspend their informative activities from this moment on; otherwise they will be bombarded from the air and ground."[1] These words marked the beginning of an ordeal for the Chilean press from which it has not yet recovered, although relations between the military government and the press have become somewhat more relaxed in the past three years. This paper, based primarily on 19 interviews conducted in Chile between 1976 and 1979, will attempt to chart the course of the current Chilean press and to look toward the future. Interviewed were editors of all newspapers and magazines, directors of some radio stations, government officials, heads of professional associations, and those directing journalism education.

When Allende was overthrown and probably murdered on the day that the Military Junta broadcast its demands, some U.S. newspapers rejoiced,[2] but theirs was to be a Pyrrhic victory for the Chilean press was to suffer much more repression and

abuse since 1973 than during the Allende years. The Marxist president's record in regard to freedom of the press is not unblemished, for the Unidad Popular tried to corner the newsprint industry to cut off supplies to critics, and it also sought to buy into El Mercurio, the oldest continuously published newspaper in the Spanish language and a strong opponent of the Allende government. Moreover, on two different occasions Unidad Popular closed for one day each El Mercurio and La Tercera de la Hora, which has the greatest circulation in Chile. Nevertheless, Allende worked within the law and lifted restrictions on the two newspapers when the courts decided against the executive.[3] Moreover, whatever one's political persuasion, it must be conceded that Allende gave almost completely free rein to a vigorous opposition press, one which was undermining his government.

This cannot be said for the military regime of General Augusto Pinochet, which has dominated the Chilean press and left only a handful of bland sycophants. Two statistics will make this clear. In the first year of the Allende government (1970-73) there were 13 newspapers competing in the journalistic arena of Santiago;[4] today there are only five, three of which are owned by the El Mercurio company and another, El Cronista, launched in 1975, is the mouthpiece of the government. Actually, then, there are only two "independent" newspaper enterprises functioning in Santiago today, a metropolis of three to four million persons, comprising one-third of the total national population.

Moreover, in the judgment of Emilio Filippi, editor of the opposition magazine Hoy, "Ninety-eight percent of the publications in Chile are in the hands of the government or friendly to the government."[5] Furthermore, estimated total national circulation has dwindled from 1,500,000 in 1973 to little more than 500,000 today--a third of the former figure.[6] This decrease is partly explained by the fact that many of the newspapers before the fall of Allende were spokesmen for political parties. As Silvia Pinto, editor of the government-sponsored El Cronista, points out, "People bought four or five newspapers during the time of Allende to get the different political points of view."[7] Also, since parties have been outlawed or "in recess" since 1973, the political press did not survive its moribund sponsors.

In the immediate period after the fall of Allende, only El Mercurio and La Tercera were allowed to publish by the military regime. Major journalistic casualties and their political sponsors were El Siglo, launched in 1940 as the official organ of the Communist party of Chile; the newspaper Puro Chile, started in 1970 and also subsidized by the Communists; the review Chile Hoy, propaganda arm of the Allende government; Clarín, started in 1954 by the magnate Daría Saint Marie, which had the third highest circulation in the country, supporting first Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democrats (1964-70) and then Allende; Punto Final and El Rebelde, journals of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) or the extreme left, and

minor publications which included Principios, Causa Marxista Leninista, Enfoque and Paloma. In other words, all of the organs of the Unidad Popular were definitively closed. Sepa and PEC, both of the extreme right and alleged to have been financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, quietly closed their doors since their cause had succeeded. La Prensa, spokesman for the Christian Democrats, and La Tribuna, organ of the rightwing Partido Nacional (National Party) folded for economic reasons after their ties to the political parties supporting them had been cut.

Thus, what was once a vibrant--even joyous--exchange of opinion in the marketplace of ideas in Santiago was reduced to a virtual wasteland overnight. The publications which survived had to submit to direct prior censorship as well, with military officers physically present in the newspaper and magazine offices and passing on everything that went into print. There was a sliding scale for the lifting of this restriction: it lasted only ten days for El Mercurio but four months for Las Ultimas Noticias and La Segunda, both published by the El Mercurio company, and Tribuna and La Prensa, as well as for the newspapers in the interior. Prior censorship was not lifted for magazines and radio for seven months.[8]

All of this was in stark contrast to relations between the government and press during the Allende years. As Víctor Marshall Orrego of the magazine Hoy declared at the Inter-American Press Association meeting at Miami in 1978, under the

Marxist president, "There existed freedom to express opinions and, naturally, to emit news by whatever means of mass communications. It was not a crime to sustain whatever political idea."[9] Nevertheless, what frightened owners of the traditional press of Chile most during the Allende years, especially El Mercurio, was the attitude toward mass communications stated in the Unidad Popular program:

> These mass media are essential to the formation of a new culture and of a new man. Therefore, they should be given an educational orientation and they should be liberated from their commercial character by taking those measures that would place these media at the disposal of social organizations and by eliminating the noxious influence of monopolies upon them. [10]

Yet more monopoly exists today than any attempts to establish government control during the Allende period. Upon the overthrow of the Marxist government, a conservative estimate placed the number of journalists exiled at between 50 and 60.[11] And the IAPA has deemed every year since 1973 that freedom of the press does not exist in Chile, although the situation seems to be improving.[12]

To examine the relations between the current Chilean press and the military government, it is best to consider each publication separately.

NEWSPAPERS

El Mercurio, dean of the Chilean press, founded at Valparaíso in 1827, was acquired by Agustín Edwards in 1880, who launched a Santiago edition in 1900.[13] It had an unbroken record of publication until the Allende government silenced it for one day on June 16, 1973. The only full-sized newspaper

remaining in Santiago today, it is predictably conservative although its make-up today is not so severely subdued as in former years. With 150,000 daily and 300,000 Sunday circulation, it does not have the highest readership in the country, but it reaches the opinion makers of the upper middle and upper classes. It is owned today by Agustín Edwards, who bears his great grandfather's name, and his brother Roberto and sister Sonia. The latter two apparently have little influence on the newspaper and its 10-paper chain in the north and center of Chile.[14] Sonia Edwards, for example, sided with the Unidad Popular of the Allende years and sported a picture of Che Guevara on her office wall.[15]

El Mercurio of Santiago feels no pressure from the Pinochet regime, but it did have difficulty with the military intendant of Copiapó who applied the six-day censorship allowed under Decree 1281 because of material in the regional section of El Mercurio about the mining district he governed. The Santiago newspaper never again published any news about Copiapó.[16] As editor Arturo Fontaine Aldunate phrased it, "Military men do not understand the function of the press since they are used to an authoritarian structure."[17] Actually, El Mercurio led the way in exploring the limits of the auto-censura (self-censorship) which followed prior censorship. A big break came in 1976 when the newspaper published on its front page and with impunity the deliberations of the Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States then meeting in Santiago.[18]

The Empresa El Mercurio also published two tabloids in

Santiago, Las Ultimas Noticias, founded in 1902, which hits the streets at noon to complement the morning El Mercurio, and La Segunda, an afternoon edition inaugurated in 1931. Housed in the same building, the three newspapers are not independent, as conferences are held if the editorial line differs radically. There was, in fact, the same director for Ultimas Noticias and La Segunda until 1964.

Fernando Díaz Palma, editor of Ultimas Noticias, also is president of the Colegio de Periodistas, the guild-like organization of newsmen which began to function in 1958 after the law authorizing it was promulgated in 1956. Its contributions toward freedom of the press in drafting the new Chilean constitution will be examined later, but here it should be noted that a subsequent law of September 1978 requires that anyone wishing to practice journalism must have a university degree from one of the country's four schools of journalism--Universidad de Chile, founded in 1952 and deemed the best in Latin America by the University of Minnesota; Universidad Católica, also in Santiago; Universidad del Norte in Antofagasta, and Universidad de Concepción. Nevertheless, a period of grace of 60 days was granted so that those with two years' experience could obtain their titles. In his duties as editor of Ultimas Noticias, Díaz Palma noted that the newspaper, which has 80,000 national circulation, has "considerable freedom despite the restrictive laws."[19]

The same could not be said for La Segunda, circulation 40,000, the most recent member of the El Mercurio family to

appear in Santiago, for on June 23, 1978, the newspaper was closed for one day by the military government without explanation. The state of siege had given way to a state of emergency with milder restrictions. But until 1977, persons could not be on the streets after 1 a.m. and vehicles were prohibited after 2 a.m. until 1978. In an interview, Hermógenes Pérez de Arze, the editor of La Segunda, did not even mention the one-day closing of his newspaper, insisting, "There is always self-censorship in a newspaper, such as legal limits and ethical norms." Coming from a family long associated with El Mercurio, Pérez de Arze was trained in law but received his journalist's title through the Colegio system. He claimed that Czechoslovakian printing presses were donated to El Siglo and Puro Chile during the Allende years and that international communism had financed these Chilean Communist publications.[20]

Surpassing El Mercurio in circulation is Tercera de la Hora with 340,000--an increase of 20,000 in the past two years. Owned by the Pico Cañas and Jaras families, the company owns its own airplanes for national distribution of the newspaper. Its editor, Alberto Guerrero Espinosa, one of the most capable young journalists in Chile, started the Instituto Verificador de Circulación (Certifying Institute of Circulation), similar to the Audit Bureau of Circulation in the United States. He wanted to prove that Tercera has the greatest circulation in Chile, but so far few other newspapers or magazines have joined in this service to advertisers. Editor of Tercera

for six years, Guerrero, a graduate of the University of Chile, started as a police reporter on Tercera and then worked for a year in Miami, obtaining radio and television experience as well. He justifies the mild sensationalism of Tercera, founded in 1950, as helping to improve reading skills of semi-literate people, but he is proudest of "Icarito," an educational supplement that appears every Wednesday--when the press run soars to 800,000 copies. Because of the economic difficulty of buying textbooks, Tercera works in conjunction with the Ministry of Education in putting out the supplement; 25 professors write the material but as colaboradores they cannot do more than three articles a month in accordance with guidelines for contributors laid down by the Colegio de Periodistas. Mexico and Venezuela have studied the supplement and want to duplicate it, and Guerrero believes it is unique in the world.

Tercera also claims the distinction of being the only newspaper in Chile that was closed--for one day each time--by the Allende government and the military regime which followed it. In the latter case, Tercera was punished for publishing a reply to the government from the Christian Democratic party three years ago despite a bando (edict) to the contrary. Also, in June 1976 the Pinochet government imposed three days of prior censorship on Tercera because the regime did not like the newspaper's treatment of the human rights story emanating from the Organization of American States. Military censors would delay approval until 1 a.m. when it was no longer worthwhile to try to get the paper out on the streets. Guerrero dislikes self-censorship even more because of its chilling

factor. "Autocensura is worse than prior censorship because in the latter one knows the limits," he said. In sum, Guerrero believes Tercera has been so successful because it represents the middle class, offers good information, condenses the news and remains politically impartial.[21]

The fifth daily newspaper in Santiago is El Cronista, started by the government in 1975 and selling for 7 pesos (33 pesos to the dollar) compared with 10 pesos for El Mercurio and Tercera, and 8 pesos for Ultimas Noticias and La Segunda. Silvia Pinto, editor of El Cronista, claims a circulation of 35,000--up from the 18,000 claimed in 1976--but Alberto Guerrero of Tercera disputes the assertion. "That many may be printed," he noted, "but no more than 5,000 are actually sold."[22]

El Cronista is published by the Empresa Periodística de la Nación, a corporation with 60 percent of the shares held by the Chilean government. Silvia Pinto, a 1961 graduate of the University of Chile who worked for both La Nación and El Mercurio and served as press attaché in Buenos Aires, is both president of the corporation and editor of the newspaper. She is also vice-president of the Colegio de Periodistas and serves as a buffer between that organization and the military government.

El Cronista itself has a stormy history originating in La Nación, the voice of the government during the Allende years. When it folded in 1973, some 600 employees were out of work, so the regime created La Patria and gave it to the

Colegio de Periodistas. The latter gave it back to the government after several months because of financial problems. Because La Patria had lost prestige and credibility, a new newspaper, El Cronista, was launched on September 8, 1975. Although money from the official Boletín financed El Cronista at first, Silvia Pinto maintains that the newspaper is self-supporting today, along with income from graphics shops and official publications.

Is there freedom of the press in Chile today? Not at all flustered by the question, Silvia Pinto said that her meetings with government officials are rare, even though she was appointed directly by Pinochet, and that there is "great liberty" for all. "After all," she added, "one cannot lie in a small country. Everyone would know it at once." As for the reduction of the number of newspapers in Santiago, she said, "This is the price we have had to pay for this tranquility."[23]

MAGAZINES

Most opposition to the military regime in Chile today comes not from newspapers but from magazines, at first by Ercilla, the weekly newsmagazine oriented toward the Christian Democratic party and obviously modeled on Time. In September 1976, however, Ercilla was sold by its owner Sergio Mújica after many problems with the government, and its liberal editor Emilio Filippi and a group of 23 other journalists formed the cooperative Hoy. In 1976, shortly before the changeover, Ercilla, founded in 1934, had a weekly circulation of 58,000. Conditions were so tense at that time that Filippi would speak to me only with his office stereo playing loudly

to mask our voices from possible sensory devices in the street. He recalled that Ercilla had had six months of trouble with the Military Junta after the fall of Allende. Filippi soon learned that he could criticize politics and economics, but not the military or individual persons in the government, especially Pinochet. Nevertheless, prior censorship lasted a year and a half for Ercilla whereas it was applied to El Mercurio for only ten days. When news occurred, Filippi added, the regime would drop heavy hints as to how it should be played. There were several techniques by which this was done: (1) prior pressure; (2) military bando or resolution prohibiting the publication of news of a certain category; (3) personal pressure as with a telephone call; (4) prior censorship de facto, which happened only once for Ercilla; and (5) subsequent censorship such as the closing of a publication or the confiscation of an issue. For example, in March 1976 one entire press run of Ercilla was confiscated because in the previous issue the magazine had revealed what was happening in the Chilean universities where professors were being fired for political reasons. Since that issue had sold out before noon on the day it appeared, it could not be confiscated but the authorities took the following issue instead.[24]

With the sale of Ercilla to a corporation headed by Fernando Larraín and Manuel Cruzot in September 1976, the magazine did a 180-degree turn in political orientation. Circulation dropped from 58,000 under Filippi to 35,000 under the new editor, Joaquín Villarino, although the latter figure

included a high number of subscriptions at $40 a year-rare in Latin America where street sales count the most. With this price, Ercilla, like most magazines, appeals only to professionals and the middle and upper classes. Villarino defends the conservative stance of Ercilla under his directorship, pointing out, "There was an intense struggle among the means of mass communication during the time of Allende. Politics became so intense the publications themselves polarized, provoking a confrontation now between the government and opposition journals." After Unidad Popular, he added, people wanted to relax in an atmosphere of social peace, an attitude which is changing now. As for censorship, Villarino said there is a "tacit agreement" between his magazine and the military authorities to exercise self-censorship. As a result, he has not received any telephone calls from the government for more than a year. At the same time, the Ercilla editor believes that there is much more self-censorship in Chile today than is necessary. Answering the statement of Alberto Guerrero, editor of Tercera, that he would prefer prior censorship again to the no-man's-land of autocensura, Villarino maintained that direct censorship would be worse because military censors are not qualified to do the job.[25]

One of the major stumbling blocks to freedom of the press in Chile today is the requirement under Bando 122 that anyone wishing to start a new publication of any sort must apply to the government for permission. When Emilio Filippi left Ercilla, he and his associates had to wait a year and a half for this official approval before launching Hoy on June 1, 1977.

Another news magazine, this journal has the highest circulation of any magazine in Chile and is the only effective voice of opposition to the military regime. Although it too is limited to the middle and upper classes and professionals, Filippi believes it reaches "the people who think." Whereas other publications "do not offer any opinion on anything opposed to the government," Hoy is a review of opinion that takes a very combative stance against the government. Recently, for example, the magazine asked if 14 unidentified corpses, who the government said possibly had been engaged in armed combat with the regime, could actually be part of the alleged 600 political prisoners still imprisoned or who had disappeared. Filippi points out there is greater freedom of the press in Chile today than three years ago. In addition to the above, the entire spectrum of the Chilean press was reporting with impunity many details of the trial in Washington, D.C., for those charged with, and later convicted of, the assassination of Orlando Letelier, the former Allende ambassador to the United States. On the other hand, an issue of Hoy was confiscated in November 1978 because the magazine carried on its cover the headline, "HORAS DIFÍCILES" (DIFFICULT HOURS), referring to the border clash with Argentina over several small islands in the Straits of Magellan. Before it was allowed to go on sale, Hoy had to change its cover--at considerable expense. But for the most part, however, why is Hoy permitted to pursue a more independent course? Filippi believes the news magazine is a "psychological convenience" for the regime, a token opposition for the authorities to

hold up as an example of freedom of the press in Chile.[26]

A third weekly news magazine in Santiago is Qué Pasa, edited by Jaime Martínez Williams and started in 1972 by a group of lawyers who opposed the Allende government. Marta Sánchez, assistant editor, said that Que Pasa, with between 28,000 and 30,000 circulation, vies with Ercilla for second place under Hoy. Again, half of this circulation is by subscription, which indicates that the magazine is read more by the elite. Qué Pasa, which maintains that it is still independent and critical, has close ties with the military government. Gonzalo Vial, minister of education, was one of the founders of the magazine, and Hernán Cubillos, minister of foreign relations, also was once associated with Qué Pasa.

As for freedom of the press, Marta Sánchez maintains that it exists "more in substance than in form." In other words, she added, "You can attack President Pinochet or the military regime, but it all depends on how you say it." If the writer adopts a malevolent or ironical tone, he will be headed for trouble, she explained, but not if the criticism is presented in a serious manner. Even here the resistance seems to be giving away, for about three months ago El Mercurio published in its Sunday supplement two pages of recent foreign caricatures of Pinochet without any difficulty.

Were there any protests when El Siglo and other Communist and socialist publications went under in 1973? Marta Sánchez commented that in the "political effervescence" of the time of Allende, people were "saturated with the coarseness, rumors, personal attacks and misinformation" of the press. The Chileans

welcomed a respite, she concluded.[27] While Marta Sánchez believes that press restrictions are easing up today, not everyone would agree with her optimism. One editor, who asked not to be named, declared, "We live in fear of what we publish." This person added that the Chilean press today suffers from "an enormous amount of self-censorship." Everyone is aware that his publication might be closed, although periodicals such as El Cronista and Qué Pasa have nothing to fear because they are on close terms with the military government.

Even magazines which are not primarily political are drawn into the tight-rope act of self-censorship. This includes Cosas, founded on October 14, 1976, by two young women, Mónica Comandari and Verónica López Helfmann. Later, on August 20, 1977, they brought out 19 for teenagers. Yet Cosas, a general-interest magazine, is also on the firing line because it features two or three political interviews in each issue. It has had to make two "clarifications" of these interviews. Billed as "an international review," it circulates 10,000 copies in Argentina and Uruguay and 30,000 in Chile. Nevertheless, studies have shown that secondary circulation (cobertura) is high with four persons reading each issue.[28]

Finally, in addition to the women's magazine, Paula, there is the popular magazine Vea, which gives 60 percent of its space to photographs. Aimed at the lower middle class and professionals in the provinces, Vea has a circulation of 45,000; ten years ago it was 200,000, revealing the impact of television. Interestingly, 60 percent of the present

circulation is in the provinces where economic resources are generally too low to support the class magazines of Santiago. Until two years ago, Vea was a tabloid with many racy pictures, a characteristic carried over into the magazine format. Hernani Banda, editor of Vea, said that more men buy the magazine but more women read it. Although the editor professes not to touch on political topics, an issue was confiscated in January 1978 because it had a photograph of a tank on the cover, which some authorities feared would offend Argentina in the boundary dispute between the two countries. Others in the government, however, claimed that the issue contained military secrets.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

The electronic media, especially radio, probably have a greater impact on a semi-literate developing country than does the print medium. Radio is also significant in tying together the shoestring geography of Chile, squeezed between the Andes mountains and the Pacific ocean. The nation's length is greater than the distance between New York and San Francisco, and dotting this immense stretch of territory, never more than 150 miles wide, are 147 radio stations serving about 12 million people. In its Cadena Nacional (national chain), the government maintains at least one radio station in each of the more than 30 regions of Chile.

The radio system is understandably apolitical today. Of the 22 stations in Santiago, only eight give the news and only two editorialize upon it. Emilio Filippi, editor of Hoy,

maintains there are only three independent radio stations of the 22 in Santiago--Radios Cooperativa, Santiago and Chilena.[29] Wavelengths are property of the state with concessions for 30 years made by the Subsecretariat of Telecommunications, which depends from the Ministry of Transportation but has considerable autonomy. These concessions must be renewed five years before their expiration. Under the pretext that Radio Cooperativa, which opposed Allende and later Pinochet, had not met these requirements, five of the chain's eight stations were closed down by the military regime.

Direct censorship is still a fact of life for Chile's radio stations. Copies of news dispatches which have been transmitted must be sent daily to the Dirección Nacional de Comunicación Social (DINACOS, Office of the National Director of Social Communication). Moreover, this same agency, which presides over newspapers and magazines as well, insists that recordings of all news programs must be kept at least 20 days for possible inspection.[30]

Censorship is not a problem with the four television stations in Chile because all are either owned or controlled by the government, which has been the case since the introduction of television into Chile in 1958. President Eduardo Frei (1964-70) created a national chain and used television to a great extent, which people resented, according to Silvia Pinto, editor of El Cronista. She added that Salvador Allende, following the Christian Democratic president, was "much more violent" in his use of the medium.[31] Today, the

state owns Channel 7, the strongest of the transmitters, and the others are farmed out to three universities, which the state also controls: Universidad de Chile, Channel 9; Universidad Católica de Santiago, Channel 13, and Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Channel 4. There is some talk today, however, of opening up other channels to private interests.[32]

THE FUTURE

The relationship of the Chilean press to the government would look brighter as this is being written in March 1979 if it were not for the proposed new constitution, Chile's first since 1925, waiting in the wings. As Tomás Mac Hale, a professor of journalism at the Universidad Católica and columnist for El Mercurio, puts it, "Actually, there have been few direct interventions by the government in the press. Government control has been notably diminishing in the last five years."[33] Freedom of the press does exist, in the view of Eduardo Latorre, director of the School of Journalism at the Universidad de Chile, "but it is very conditional," with the greatest danger coming from self-censorship. How else does one explain the fact that the news magazine Hoy is an organ of opposition and yet has the largest circulation of any publication in the country?[34] Enrique Ortúzar, chairman of the eight-member commission appointed by the military in October 1973 to draw up a new constitution, puts it even stronger. "I don't believe there is a military government anywhere in the world that grants as much freedom of the press as this one," he declared.[35] Hugo Morales, a former major and shoe manufacturer who has directed DINACOS--

the government agency overseeing the press--since January 1978, denies that his agency, which depends from the Secretaría General de Gobierno, is arbitrary or capricious. He points out that DINACOS also has an information-dispensing function in contact with the foreign press as well as being the "official contact" between the means of communication in Chile and the government. Morales stresses the social responsibility of the press, noting that although the Colegio de Periodistas once adopted a code of ethics, it remains a dead letter.[36]

The views of these four men, more or less reflecting the position of the Chilean government, seem destined to be adopted when the new constitution is submitted to the voters in a plebiscite in April 1979. The document, which took five years to complete, runs to 99 legal-size pages and is accompanied by an informe or rationale of 306 pages. Without doubt, it is one of the most restrictive and authoritarian constitutions in Latin America since the centralist Mexican charter of 1836. A Constitutional Tribunal, for example, will determine which political parties can take part in any election.

Lip service is paid to freedom of the press as long as that freedom does not go against "moral standards, public order, national security or the private lives of persons." Journalists are urged to be "truthful, timely and objective," and they are bound to make clarification or rectification for persons offended or unjustly alluded to by any means of social communication. Prior censorship of movies is stipulated.

Control of the electronic media is beefed up with the establishment of a Consejo Nacional de Radio y Televisión (National Radio and Television Council), which has the power to give, renew and cancel radio wavelengths, although those who feel wronged may appeal to the Supreme Court. The Council is composed of one person designated by the president, one Supreme Court justice elected by that body, a representative of the Consejo de Seguridad Nacional (Council of National Security), a delegate of higher education and one representative of parents of school children. On the other hand, the possibility of private television is raised, and the state is prohibited from obtaining a monopoly of either radio or television.

With respect to the written press, every person is assured the right to found, edit and maintain newspapers and magazines "in the conditions which the law determines." Article 8 of the projected constitution provides:

> Every act of a person or group destined to propagate doctrines which go against the family, propose violence or a conception of society, the State or juridicial order, of totalitarian character or founded in the class struggle, is illegal and contrary to the institutional order of the Republic. [37]

Any journalist convicted on any of these counts, which are as broad as the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798-1801 in the United States, will be barred from the profession for ten years. In short, the drafters of this constitution stress "liberty and responsibility," or expressed in other words, "liberty, yes; licentiousness, no."[38]

Although there is little likelihood of changes, the constitution is now being considered by the Consejo del Estado (Council of State), made up of former presidents and other high dignitaries. Eduardo Frei, the progressive Christian Democratic president of Chile (1964-1970), however, refused to take part in the deliberations.

Nevertheless, three professional journalism associations sent to the Council of State their own brief press clause which strips away the controls set forth above, prohibiting prior censorship--including movies--under any circumstances, and guaranteeing access to public information without hindrance, except in cases of national security or threat to public order. Clarification or rectification of errors is retained, and they stipulated that "the means of Social Communication cannot be expropriated."[39] These three associations were the Colegio de Periodistas, Asociación Nacional de la Prensa, which represents all of the publishers of newspapers and magazines in the country except two, and the Asociación de Radiodifusoras de Chile, representing the radio stations.

In conclusion, does Chile stand at the crossroads when this constitution goes before the people? No, it is not even a turn in the road, for General Pinochet has stated that he will remain as head of state until 1985. Moreover, many Chileans seem content with military rule after the turmoil caused by opposition to the social changes of the Allende period.[40] In a referendum held on January 4, 1978, more than 70 percent of the people supported the present government.

The count was probably fair, but the vote may have reflected a backlash of national pride toward the censure of Chile for violation of human rights by the United Nations a few months earlier. Still, most Chileans today will probably agree with Enrique Ortúzar, whose constitution shoves aside the "pluralism and unrestricted ideologies" of the 1925 document and embraces instead "a new humanistic conception of man and society that is appropriate for Western Christian civilization."[41] Actually, the new constitution seems little more than an exercise in rhetoric to legitimatize the rule of Pinochet and to prevent any Marxist party from ever gaining power in Chile again. But if it is adopted and enforced, the Chilean press will face graver dangers than those with which it must deal today. In the past three years newspapers and magazines have made gains in what they can say, but these gains will be wiped out. The press, as always, will be caught in the middle in the transition to a monolithic state, but the Chileans, who once formed one of the most stable and outspoken democracies in Latin America, are up to the challenge.

FOOTNOTES

1. Breve Historia de la Unidad Popular, Documento de "El Mercurio" (Santiago, 1974), pp. 416-417. Heads of the military which overthrew Allende were Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, Army; José Toribio Merino Castro, Navy; Gustavo Leigh Guzmán, Air Force, and César Mendoza Durán, Carabineros.

2. Jerry W. Knudson, "Allende Falls, The Press Reacts," The Masthead (Spring 1974), pp. 50-56.

3. Patricia Fagen, "The Media in Allende's Chile," Journal of Communications (Winter 1974), pp. 59-71.

4. Breve historia, p. 87. The count was made by the department of journalists of the Christian Democratic party.

5. Interview with Emilio Filippi, editor of Hoy, Santiago, Jan. 2, 1979.

6. Interview with Alberto Guerrero Espinosa, editor of La Tercera de la Hora, Santiago, Dec. 28, 1978.

7. Interview with Silvia Pinto, editor of El Cronista, Santiago, Dec. 26, 1978.

8. Víctor Marshall Orrego, "La situación de la libertad de prensa en Chile," p. 7. This was an unofficial informe presented by the delegate of the magazine Hoy. Mimeographed.

9. Ibid., p. 4.

10. Alfredo Silva Carvallo, "The Battle for Freedom of Expression" in Chile: a Critical Survey (Santiago, 1972), p. 204.

11. Interview with Fernando Díaz Palma, president of the Colegio de Periodistas and editor of Ultimas Noticias, Santiago, Dec. 27, 1978.

12. Telephone interview with James B. Canel, general manager of IAPA, Miami, Fla., March 8, 1979. For Chilean relations with IAPA (SIP in Spanish) in recent years, see "Informes sobre Chile para la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa de la SIP," El Mercurio, March 29, 1977; "Informe sobre Chile para la Comisión de Libertad de Prensa de la SIP," ibid., Oct. 18, 1977, and "Libertad de prensa: Informe sobre Chile en comisión de SIP," ibid., Feb. 28, 1978. For the report of a special commission sent by the IAPA to investigate conditions in Chile, composed of Edward Seaton, The Manhattan (Kans.) Mercury, and Julio C.F. de Mesquita of O Estado de Sao Paulo, Brazil, see Vigilia (Santiago, December 1978), pp. 51-55.

13. José Peláez y Tapia, Historia de El Mercurio, Un siglo de periodismo chileno (Santiago, 1927), pp. 363-372. See also Raúl Silva Castro, Prensa y periodismo en Chile (1812-1956) (Santiago, 1958), p. xv, and Alfonso Valdebenito, Historia del periodismo chileno (1812-1955) (Santiago, 1956), p. 71-72.

14. Interview with Fernando Díaz Palma, editor of Ultimas Noticias, Santiago, Dec. 27, 1978. Other newspapers the Edwards family owns are El Mercurio de Valparaíso, La Estrella de Valparaíso, El Mercurio de Antofagasta, El Mercurio de Calama, La Estrella del Norte, La Estrella de Iquique and La Estrella de Arica.

15. Interview with Hermógenes Pérez de Arze, editor of La Segunda, Santiago, Dec. 21, 1978.

16. Interview with Fernando Díaz Palma, editor of Ultimas Noticias, Santiago, Dec. 27, 1978.

17. Interview with Arturo Fontaine Aldunate, editor of El Mercurio, Santiago, Jan. 9, 1979.

18. El Mercurio, June 8 and 9, 1976.

19. Interview with Fernando Díaz Palma, editor of Ultimas Noticias, Dec. 27, 1978.

20. Interview with Hermógenes Pérez de Arze, editor of La Segunda, Santiago, Dec. 21, 1978. For the origins of the Communist and Socialist press in Chile, see Osvaldo Arias Escobedo, La Prensa obrera en Chile, 1900-1930 (Chillán, 1970), pp. 85-113.

21. Interviews with Alberto Guerrero Espinosa, editor of Tercera de la Hora, Santiago, Aug. 26, 1976 and Dec. 28, 1978.

22. Interview with Alberto Guerrero Espinosa, editor of Tercera de la Hora, Santiago, Dec. 28, 1978.

23. Interviews with Silvia Pinto, editor of El Cronista, Santiago, Aug. 25, 1976, and Dec. 26, 1978.

24. Interview with Emilio Filippi, editor of Ercilla, Santiago, Aug. 27, 1976.

25. Interview with Joaquín Villarino, editor of Ercilla, Santiago, Dec. 30, 1978.

26. Interview with Emilio Filippi, editor of Hoy, Santiago, Jan. 2, 1979.

27. Interview with Marta Sánchez, assistant editor of Qué Pasa, Santiago, Jan. 4, 1979.

28. Interview with Verónica López Helfmann, editor of Cosas, Santiago, Dec. 29, 1978.

29. Interview with Emilio Filippi, editor of Hoy, Santiago, Jan. 2, 1979.

30. Interview with Hernani Banda, editor of Vea, Santiago, Jan. 8, 1979.

31. Interview with Silvia Pinto, editor of El Cronista, Santiago, Dec. 26, 1978.

32. See Estrategia (Nov. 28 to Dec. 12, 1978), pp. 6-7.

33. Interview with Tomás Mac Hale, Universidad Católica, Santiago, Dec. 27, 1978. Mac Hale has studied in depth control of the press both during the Allende years and since. See his El frente de la libertad de expresión, 1970-1972 (Santiago, 1972); La libertad de expresión en Chile (5 de Septiembre de 1972 al 5 de Marzo de 1973) (Santiago, 1973); "Poder político y comunicación en Chile: Marzo a Septiembre de 1973," Cuadernos del Instituto de Ciencia Política, No. 14 (Marzo-Abril, 1977), Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, and "Libertad de prensa y responsabilidad periodística," Vigilia (Santiago, Agosto 1978), pp. 60-64.

34. Interview with Eduardo Latorre, director, School of Journalism, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Jan. 3, 1979.

35. Interview with Enrique Ortúzar, chairman of the constitutional commission, Santiago, Jan. 5, 1979.

36. Interview with Hugo Morales, director of DINACOS, Santiago, Jan. 5, 1979.

37. Comisión de Estudio de la Nueva Constitución Política de la República, Oficio No. 792, Santiago, Oct. 18, 1978, mimeographed, Chapter III, Article 19, No. 11, pp. 4 and 18-20. Quote is from p. 4.

38. Comisión de Estudio de la Nueva Constitución Política de la República, Santiago, Aug. 16, 1978, mimeographed, pp. 105-117. Quotes are from p. 106.

39. Interview with Oscar Herrera Palacios, executive secretary of the National Press Association, Santiago, Jan. 3, 1979.

40. Jerry Knudson, "Flame of freedom is dim in Chile," Philadelphia Inquirer, Feb. 27, 1979.

41. Interview with Enrique Ortúzar, chairman of the constitutional commission, Santiago, Jan. 5, 1979.